WAR & PEACE New York Edition

President ushers in era of 'cold peace'

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By Tabitha Petran

THE PRESIDENT's radio-TV report to the nation on the eve of Congress' opening was interpreted as a signal to level off for "the cold peace." Like the term "cold war"—coined to conceal Washington's preparations for aggressive world war—the term "cold peace" now aims to conceal its determination to block genuine settlements and maintain tension—in face of proof that the policy won't work.

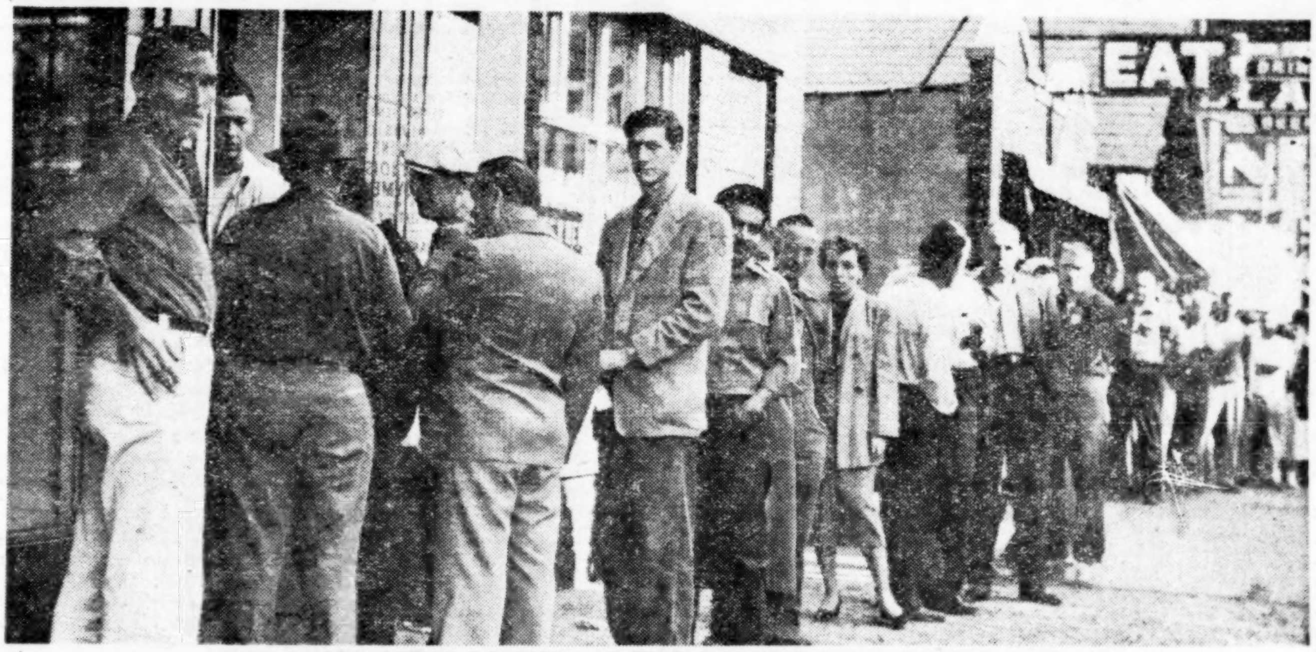
The "cold peace" means "no war; no peace; no depression but no full employment either" (James Reston, N. Y. **Times**, 12/31). This is the Administration's "little peace, little depression" goal, described by GUARDIAN (4/20/53) as designed to buy time for frustrated war planners and to step up profits.

The emphasis of the President's talk was on the Administration's refusal "to tolerate a boom-and-bust America." Declaring that America's prosperity does not and need not depend on war preparations (war spending at $52 billion last year was the highest in any year since World War II), Gen. Eisenhower said his Administration is using and would use "every legitimate means" to maintain prosperity. He did not indicate what these means are.

THE HEALTHY DIP: The President's bland forecast came as "almost everybody is asking, rather nervously, what is going to happen to the American economy in 1954" (Stewart Alsop, 1/3). Economists and statisticians at their annual association meetings, and government economists in five federal agencies interviewed by the **Journal of Commerce**, agreed the U.S. economy would dip 5-10% this year. There was no agreement—among economists, businessmen or politicians—as to what the expected downturn means, but these were some views:

- The Administration called it a healthy adjustment downward from "an overtime economy" (Dr. Gabriel Hauge, President's top economic adviser); economic activity could drop 25-30% before it could be called a "recession" (Deputy Treas. Sec. Burgess). This reflects the view of the big corporations, whose 1953 before-tax profits of $45 billion were the highest in history and whose dividend payments are making "an all-time record showing" (**Business Week**, 12/5). With the excess

(Continued on Page 3)



THE LINES GROW LONGER AS THE DOUBLE-TALK GROWS LOUDER
Laid-off farm equipment workers (UE members) line up for jobless compensation in Moline, Ill.

CHARITY FOR ALL — BENEFITS FOR NONE

GOP moves to plunder $18 billion Social Security fund

By Lawrence Emery

FOR WORKERS retiring at 65 or after, present Social Security protection is not a very solid leg to stand on; but with all its limitations it is far better than a pauper's oath and a trip over the hill to the poorhouse. Present maximum payments to insured workers range from $85 a month for an individual to $168.50 a month for a family; there are no payments at all if the retired worker has an income of more than $75 a month from an insured occupation.

Last July a group of Congressmen, headed by Herbert Lehman (D-N.Y.) in the Senate and Rep. Herman Eberharter (D-Pa.) in the House, introduced a group of bills to liberalize and extend Social Security protection. The bills, backed by labor, would provide benefit improvements, add temporary and permanent disability insurance, increase funds for rehabilitation, ease the retirement test, and extend coverage; maximum payments would go up to $135 for an individual, $200 a month for a family, and beneficiaries would be permitted to earn up to $100 a month.

CHARITY FOR ALL: The U.S. Chamber of Commerce had other ideas, was particularly interested in raiding the $18,000,000,000 Social Security fund built up over the years by deductions from the worker's paychecks. The C of C plan would blanket everybody under Social Security, whether they contributed to it or not, and would abolish State-administered old-age assistance programs paid for with Federal funds taken from general tax money. The AFL Labor's League for Political Education has described the Big Business plan:

"By expanded coverage, the Chamber means that the Social Security system would be eliminated and replaced by a charity system under which everyone would be eligible for a pension—about $25 per month. The cost of this charity system would be met first by using up the $18,000,000,000 insurance reserve fund which the millions of people now under Social Security paid annual premiums for out of their paychecks and thought was being held as a sacred trust for their own retirement or for their survivors.

"After this reserve fund was wiped out, the size of the charity benefits and who would be eligible would be determined from year to year by the whim of each Congress. Pay-as-you-go means hoping that Congress will set taxes and appropriate enough

(Continued on Page 4)

JUST ONE BIG POLITICAL PARTY FOR TWO
Quarterback Stevenson gets the play from coach Talmadge (see p. 4)

THE JOB IN 1954 FOR PROGRESSIVES: II

Independent political groups are vital in the fight against the old parties

By C. B. Baldwin

IN 1952 the back of the New Deal coalition, built by Roosevelt and inherited by Truman, was broken. The reasons:

1. The Democrats had emptied the coalition of all content. In 1948 Truman at least had held out the hope of a return to Roosevelt's policies; in 1952 Stevenson did not even pay them lip-service, and the Truman administration's record showed the Democrats had completely abandoned them.

2. The Korean War. Samuel Lubell, author of **The Future of American Politics** (1952), who made nationwide doorbell-ringing surveys before and after the election, considered this the chief factor in the breakup of the New Deal coalition. In the **Saturday Evening Post** (1/10/53) he—unwittingly perhaps—showed the frustration of voters in this no-choice election, writing:

". . . Like two powerful wrestlers the memory of depression and frustration over Korea came to grips with each other in the arena that was the voter's mind. And when the struggle was over, the back of Democratic political power in the country was broken. "They don't shoot Santa Claus," runs the old adage. What happened last November, though, was that surprising numbers of voters came actually to resent the prevailing prosperity as "bought with the lives of our boys in Korea." There was a general feeling that the Korean War was all that stood in the way of an economic recession. . . ."

WHAT THE VOTE MEANT: Lubell interpreted the election not as a "vote for peace at any price" but rather as "a vote of impatience with the frustrating state of neither war no peace." Next to Korea and the draft, he said, "the

(Continued on Page 4)

You too can be a Guardian Angel

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Up Hallinan!

E. PEPPERELL, MASS.

There are no words fit to describe Vincent Hallinan's courage and strength! And let us hope he will be able to run again in '56; and, win or lose, some day be recognized for the giant he is. I've always liked the Irish, but I like them twice as well since knowing Hallinan.
Al Amery

Never sticky

BRIDGEPORT, CONN.

Here's two bucks for a paper with teeth that were never made for gum drops.
Anon.

Nixon's restricted rest

MIAMI BEACH, FLA.

Don't you think that there are enough good hotels on Miami Beach without Vice President Nixon checking into a hotel that is advertised as "restricted to Christians only?"

The Key Biscayne Hotel, where our "esteemed" Vice President is staying, is such a hotel.

At the next election, maybe his electorate should also be limited to "Christians only." How horrible!
Martha M. Crawford

The Beria trial

NEW YORK, N. Y.

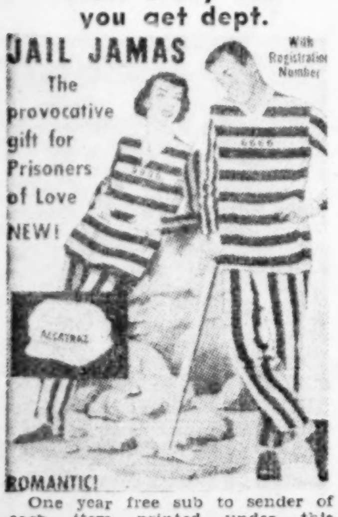
GUARDIAN readers may be interested in some background to the Beria trial. In the capitalist world questions about this trial, as about others which have punctuated Soviet history, are inevitable. The key to these trials lies in the struggle between the dying and growing forces in Soviet society. Class-less society is the goal of socialism, but as Lenin foresaw long ago classes "will remain for years after the conquest of power by the proletariat. . . . The dictatorship of the proletariat is a persistent struggle . . . against the forces and traditions of society. The force of habit of millions and tens of millions is a terrible force" (Left Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder, 1920).

The capitalist world presents the years-long struggle to eliminate the bourgeois classes in the U. S. S. R. as a struggle for power between personalities. Actually the struggle was between the advanced working class, led by the majority of the Party's Central Committee, which was fighting to build socialism in the U. S. S. R., and groups representing the remnants of rich-peasant and petty bourgeois ideology. With industrialization and collectivization, the social base for this opposition disappeared and the degeneracy of its leaders into agents of foreign governments, etc., was almost inevitable.

During World War II, when the Nazis occupied much of European Russia, the instability of some nationalist elements in the Ukraine and other republics was revealed. The overwhelming majority of the Soviet peoples of all nationalities remained loyal; the comparative handful who were not were found largely among nationalist elements. It is not surprising then that capitalist intelligence services should have fished in these waters.

Americans will still wonder how such a man as Beria was charged with being (the indictment said he served British Intelligence back in 1919) could rise to such high office. But Americans have not experienced what Romain Rolland called "the explosion of new life which shatters the convulsed earth," the upheavals and agonies of a revolution which uprooted an old society and built in the space of a few decades what capitalist countries took centuries to achieve. And had to build, as Lenin pointed out, "not with the fantastic human material especially created by our imagination, but with the material bequeathed us by capitalism."
Tabitha Petran

How crazy can you get dept.



One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading.

Were they guilty?

BRONX, N. Y.

One of the most difficult tasks a contemporary liberal or progressive-minded person has to face is to fit the realities represented by the U. S. S. R. into his scheme of things. Some things are first-rate; but I believe it is our responsibility to be aware also of the Soviet Union's shortcomings.

In this context I would like to refer to the trial and execution of Lavrentia Beria. According to the indictment he was a spy for the capitalist world since the Bolshevik Revolution. Yet Beria had since been very influential in bringing before the bar of Soviet justice many individuals who were accused of carrying out similar activities as he. Were these persons really guilty; or were their trials judicial frame-ups by Beria and his associates (in the light of current knowledge) to sow confusion and distrust everywhere in the hope of preparing the ground for re-conquest by the Russian and other bourgeoisies? One thing, however, is certain: both answers cannot be right.

Until reasonable and humanitarian men and women can know deep in their hearts that the lack of habeas corpus procedure, warrant for arrest and other non-economic—but just as important—judicial safeguards really does not interfere with the dispensation of Soviet justice, I must be somewhat reserved in making castigating remarks about the capitalist world, especially the U. S. A., which you seem to have no scruples whatsoever in doing.
Gavriel

Life in Pittsburgh

PITTSBURGH, PA.

In November Mayor Lawrence and the Democratic administration were elected here with endorsement of AFL and CIO. In December the AFL teamsters struck against Pittsburgh department stores. Lawrence's police and judges have been giving the strikers a rough time from the very beginning.

A week or two ago Lawrence came out for a tax on wages. Such a tax automatically exempts businessmen and others whose income is not in the form of wages. At the same time, commercial and industrial real estate here is assessed at 1941 levels for tax purposes!
S. W.

Paid its way—and more

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

As we have decided to liquidate our business, will you kindly discontinue our ad and send us a closing bill at your earliest convenience.

It might interest you to know that aside from many enjoyable personal contracts made thru your valuable paper it has more than paid its way as an advertising medium.
Harry Tanner (Used Cars)

Normal and ab

NEW YORK, N. Y.

In Hollywood, the industry's self-censoring Breen office refused to OK the Korean war movie "Cease Fire" until the sound track was altered to have the film's fighting soldiers say "heck" and "darn" instead of "hell" and "damn" during the heat of battle (Newsweek, Dec. 14). What's about the Heck bomb?

For your normal dept. (outside U. S. A.):

Dennis O'Keefe, the screen star, was in London recently. He stopped his car at Hyde Park, and listened to a speaker denouncing the government. "Down with Sir Winston, and down with Her Majesty," the speaker railed. . . . A London policeman suddenly approached O'Keefe's car, and the actor was sure he would be asked to move on lest a riot occur. "Please turn off the motor of your car," the bobbie told him. "The speaker can't be heard." (Lyons: N. Y. Post).
Dr. John H. Beck

Vie Nuove, Rome

"Gold, always gold—If only I could find some trout."

Billy branches out

SCAPPOOSE, ORE.

A news item that a bout was aring arranged between Billy Graham and Paddy Young astounded me. I was led to believe that Graham was fighting only the devil and the Communists.
Vincent Noga

Catholics deported?

CHICAGO, ILL.

Apropos the letter of Nov. 2 of the General Council of the U. S. A. Presbyterian Church to its congregations (GUARDIAN, 11/23/53) and the comments in connection therewith by Jos. C. Harsch, Christian Science Monitor, to the effect that Roman Catholics in government were not being harassed by McCarthy: it would be interesting to know if Roman Catholics in general are escaping also the terror of revocations of citizenship and deportation.
Name withheld

British Guiana fight

LONDON, ENGLAND

The People's Progressive Party of British Guiana was crudely removed from its position as the elected Government of the colony last October.

During its very brief tenure, the PPP introduced Bills to Repeal the Undesirable Publications Ordinance; to compel landlords to keep in good repair drainage and irrigation canals on their property in order to allow tenant farmers a chance of making a living on their farms; to extend piped water supply to the suburbs of Georgetown (capital of Br. Guiana); to limit the money lenders' interest charges; and to extend food production loans, including the fishing industry. The PPP planned to introduce a Bill reimposing three sugar taxes, repealed earlier by the old legislature.

The problems now facing the party require urgent attention: legal expenses for and on behalf of members held under detention without being brought to trial for any alleged offenses, and to assist other members facing hearing on charges of sedition early in January, 1954.

Keeping in mind that you will see the urgency and extent of assistance required, I am making this appeal to you. Replies should be sent to Mr. Maurice Orbach, British Guiana Defense Fund, 16 Soho Square, London, W. 1, England.
Andrew L. Jackson, president,
Fedn. of Unions of Govt.
Employes of British Guiana.

The new "morality"

MONROVIA, CALIF.

Trusting citizens who are still disposed to believe our militarization to be of peaceful consequence are experiencing daily eye-openers. Here is one more, a reading from The Editor's Column, Western Aviation, December, 1953:

"The moral rights of national survival justify taking a new look at our ethical principles in order to assay and establish the rightness of positive action for national survival. Such thinking should replace the negative guidance of the hand-wringing moralists who can only judge international morality in the simple parallels of disagreements between next-door neighbors.

"Ethics is but a phase of politics, and politics but a phase of war. And the preparation for—and conduct of—war is as old and varied as history, and usually anarchistic with no rules respected. But the moralists are overly concerned with history, for its judgment of the way we might use the new weapons. Well, the saying is that history is a lie agreed upon.

"It can also be said that history is largely the story of the victors. The losers get little peace on earth, and brief obituaries the way history has been written about the past, and will, no doubt, be written in the future about the present. We had better prepare and plan the next war so as to make sure who writes its history."

This is the authentic attitude of the aviation and Air Corps lobby, disdaining cant. This Goering itches for war; this fiend wants the whole arsenal of horrible playthings put to use.

I don't, neither on bad excuse nor best. Not upon myself nor upon the reviled enemy. I want peace, which does not imply victory but coexistence.
Curtis D. Benster

"The tide is turning"

EVERETT, WASH.

The GUARDIAN is a highly prized paper by those who know it. I always pass my copy on to others and ask them to subscribe if they like it. If I have not helped financially or otherwise it is not because I do not pull for this fighting, excellent guardian of the truth during these crazy times. It is that these times are taking so much out of all of us in time and money. We, as you know, have had a long, vicious Smith Act trial to fight and work for here. It has taken a lot of energy and money. It is still not finished. We still have over $20,000 bail to raise out of a total of $105,000.

But the tide is turning, as is evident through the outstanding analysis made in the GUARDIAN every week. We are not beaten or discouraged but are confident of a future of peace and decency with abundance for all.
Al Nygren

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REPORT TO READERS

'53, '54 and a village cat

THERE ARE SOME 4,000 people reading this issue of the GUARDIAN who haven't paid for the paper for quite a spell.

Are you one?

You can tell immediately by glancing back to Page One. If you're far in arrears, your address-label is printed in red ink. Will you look now?

You can renew now (and we most heartily want you to!) by simply tearing out the corner of Page One containing your address-label and mailing it in with $3.

WHILE YOU ARE AT IT, take a look at the pledge on the reverse of your address-label. If you've been hitch-hiking, you are one of the reasons the GUARDIAN wound up 1953 some $10,000 in arrears—not counting the paydays we skipped; and you might like to help make up the deficit by agreeing now to pay a little more for your 1954 subscription.

Otherwise, the patient is doing as well as can be expected, considering that our annual letter to you arrived right smack in the holiday season and in many homes is just emerging from beneath the greeting card stack.

Our letter asked for your renewal (if your address-label has the figures "53" on it) and for a monthly pledge of at least $1 if you can afford it.

How are things looking now, after the holiday deluge? Think you can scrape up **THREE CENTS A DAY** to keep the GUARDIAN coming into your home?

Whichever way things stand, please let us hear from you.

•

A GREENWICH VILLAGE WOMAN NAMED PAT dissents from our column of last month reporting how peaceful it was without sabre-rattling and McCarthyisms during the N.Y. newspaper strike. Seems her cat is toilet-trained to newspapers and when the supply ran out she was darned if she'd surrender her GUARDIAN, no matter how loud and how long the cat mewed for it. She didn't say how she solved the problem, only that the newspaper strike almost caused her cat a nervous breakdown.

We regret sincerely that Pat's cat missed the papers so.

—THE EDITORS

GOUZENKO, JENNER, McCARRAN WARM OVER

'The spy plot that never was'

By William A. Reuben

Last week Senators Jenner and McCarran were in Canada seeking further fuel for the U.S. "spy-hunt" from former Soviet Embassy clerk Igor Gouzenko, who sparked the spy scare in 1946 by giving Embassy documents to Canadian authorities. In view of the general misinformation about the Canadian "case" upon which so much has since been built, we present a highly condensed digest of the chapter, "Canada: The Atom Spy Plot that Never Was," from William A. Reuben's forthcoming book The Atom Spy Hoax. *For the second half of the story, see next week.*

ON Feb. 15, 1946—2½ weeks before Churchill's Fulton, Mo., speech which is generally accepted as the West's official declaration of the cold war—a sensational story "broke" in Canada. **AP** reported from Ottawa:

> ". . . Police, striking suddenly, detained at least 22 men today as the Government launched an investigation into the disclosure of 'secret and confidential information,' authoritatively reported to concern atomic energy, to members of a foreign mission here. Sources that cannot be named said the country involved was Russia. . . ."

For the next six weeks the story was a page-one sensation; the U.S. press was filled with "dope" stories, think-pieces, "tips" from unidentified sources. The N.Y. **Times** reported from Ottawa (2/16/46) that although there were no details of the spy ring's operations, it was "probable that the information divulged concerned the use of atomic energy"; later the paper editorialized that efforts to get A-bomb secrets "mark a highlight in the conspiracy." **Newsweek's** first story said "the atom bomb was foremost in early [press] speculation." A **UP** story Feb. 16 introduced the local angle:

> "Rep. John Rankin, Democrat of Miss., said tonight that 'a Communist spy ring . . . uncovered in Canada . . . extends throughout the U.S. and is working through various Communist front organizations.'"

COLD-WAR CUSHION: Three days before Churchill and Truman appeared at Fulton, Canada's Royal Commission issued its first report and said:

> ". . . Undercover agents [organized by] the Soviet Embassy at Ottawa under direct instructions from Moscow . . . were instructed to obtain data on military matters, with especial emphasis on the atomic bomb."

This and the Commission's second and third reports (Mar. 15, 29) served as preparation, cushion and follow-up to Churchill's speech, which even **Time** found "startling at this juncture of world affairs." To this day, Americans have virtually no other information on the "plot" than what was fed them in that six-week period, when the trials had not yet begun and the accused "atom spies" had been threatened with jail if they even discussed their cases. This was the picture given the public:

- The Soviet government was operating a network of spies, including many in high government posts, mainly to get "atom secrets." The agency doing the recruiting for it was the Labor Progressive (Communist) Party of Canada.
- The government's case was air-tight, established by Embassy documents filched by Gouzenko.

MAN OF DISTINCTION: On Mar. 22 the Commission unveiled Gouzenko to newsmen; he had then, as became known later, been briefed daily for 6½ months by police. His evaluation, as the Commission reported it, stressed the point that "the Communist Party in democratic countries has [become] . . . a fifth column . . . an agency net of the Soviet Government . . . for creating artificial unrest, provocation, etc., etc." Gouzenko spoke (as he told it later in his book **This Was My Choice**) of the "spy ring that today would have eaten into your atomic secrets . . . if I hadn't spoken."

The Soviet Embassy said Gouzenko had embezzled Embassy funds and would be tried for it if he ever returned to the U.S.S.R. This he had little incentive to do. In Mar., 1947, he was made a British subject by a special Crown prerogative never before exercised within recollection of Canadian officials. Money flowed in from dozens of magazine articles; from his book (in which he wrote: "Any man who puts his hands in his pockets in the presence of Stalin is liable to be shot instantly"); from "technical advice" for Warner Bros.' **The Iron Curtain**; from an art exhibit in a Canadian dept. store. Pres. T. F. Ahearn of the Ottawa Electric Railway Co. in 1947 settled on him a $100-a-month lifetime annuity.

SENATOR McCARRAN: THE CALL OF THE WILD
Cloaks, daggers, shillelaghs, broomsticks and hooey

The atom spy hoax

William A. Reuben's **The Atom Spy Hoax: From Hiroshima to the Rosenbergs**, a chapter of which is here digested, is a forthcoming $3 book to be published by Cameron & Kahn, 109 Greenwich Av., N.Y.C. The result of over two years of research, it fits together the pieces of the many "atom spy sensations" in a devastating expose of what has been the basis of Washington's whole cold-war propaganda policy.

THE HOAX: To see how the case was launched, let us go back to Sept., 1945, when World War II ended. Before the end of that month the heads of three of the Allied powers—the U.S., Britain and Canada—had conferred and worked out plans to blunt pro-Soviet feeling generated during the war. **NYT's** C. L. Sulzberger reported (3/21/46) that the "momentum" of this feeling

> ". . . had continued too heavily after the armistice, [making] it difficult to carry out the stiffer diplomatic policies required now. For this reason . . . a campaign was worked up to obtain a better psychological balance of public opinion to permit the Govt. to adopt a harder line. . . ."

By the end of Sept., 1945, Canada's Prime Minister Mackenzie King later told parliament, "pretty much the whole case as it has since been developed had at that time been worked out." After it was launched in Feb., 1946, few U.S. newspaper readers learned what actually happened in court. Facts they never got were that:

- Not one of the 22 "atom spies" was even charged with, let alone convicted of, "atomic" or any other espionage;
- Only 7 of the 22 were finally sent to jail;
- The "crime" of which most of the 22 "atom spies" were charged was helping get passports for Loyalist volunteers in the Spanish war;
- On Mar. 18, 1946, Prime Minister King frankly told parliament:

> "[This] business has not arisen out of the atomic bomb in any way or any secrecy in connection with it."

(Continued next week)

War & Peace

(Continued from Page 1)

profits tax canceled, and more cuts for corporate tax rates due in April, big business can take major slumps in sales without appreciable profit losses. It would welcome a 10% or so shakedown to create the pool of unemployment needed if it is to "cut labor costs."

- Dr. Leon Keyserling (chairman of Truman's Council of Economic Advisers), the Democratic Party generally (which has subscribed to full-employment-through-war-spending), and some labor and liberal economists contended that full employment could only be maintained if production expands at a rate of $10 billion a year. In Keyserling's view a 10% drop in the economy would mean some 6 million unemployed added to the 1.8 million currently workless and to the normal annual increase of about a million in the labor force—or about 9 million unemployed by year's end. (Most economists who predicted a 1954 dip saw 3-4 million unemployed in 1954.)
- U.S. economists almost unanimously repudiated the views of Moscow's Eugene Varga and Britain's Colin Clark that the U.S. is on the brink of depression. Yet all agreed "no one can guarantee that any recession will not snowball into a depression" **NYT, 12/31**).

THE DROOP: Most important fact about the U.S. economy today is that it is slowing down; production in physical terms is down 6-7% since last July; dollar turnover has slowed by about $10 billion; unemployment, up from 1.2 million in October to 1.7 million in December, is expected to hit 2.5 million in January (**Business Week, 1/2**). The labor force instead of growing was smaller in 1953 than in 1952, meaning elimination of marginal workers.

A **BW** survey (12/26) found "spot unemployment"—which "shows up hazily if at all in the national statistics"—on the rise, "much of the long term variety." Layoffs occurred mostly in railroads, steel, electronics, farm equipment, autos, rubber, textiles, ordnance. For the first time since 1949 average weekly hours in manufacturing dropped below 40 a week.

Signs bad for U. S. allies

Economic indicators do not currently suggest that the country is at the start of a major recession. Business spending for new plant and equipment—a major key to business activity—is scheduled at only a fraction below 1953.

Business surveys show that this investment is directed, generally, not at expanding plant capacity, but at installing labor-saving and cost-cutting machinery. This will be a weapon against labor and a means of stepping up profits.

Arms spending is to decline only slightly. (Unexpended sums already appropriated mean that the cuts now being discussed are strictly for the future.)

But for U.S. allies like Britain and the Commonwealth, whose exports to the U.S. and whose economies slump about 5% for every 1% drop in U.S. output, even the small U.S. decline since last July can have serious repercussions. A 12% overall drop in U.S. imports in October may be a harbinger. Britain estimates a 5% U.S. drop in 1954 would cut its exports here by $315 million. This at a time when, according to the Fedn. of British Industries, "British exporters are faced with foreign competition to an extent unknown for the past 14 years." According to **AP** (12/28), "if the [trade] trend continues, it could unhinge the British economy."

Well, how's his golf score?

Eisenhower Popularity Up 8 Points

BY GEORGE GALLUP

Los Angeles Times, Jan. 3, p. 40

HARD SLEDDING DUE FOR GOP, POLL FINDS

Decline in President's Popularity Shown; Strength in Congress Declared Periled

Los Angeles Times, Jan. 3, p. 41

TRADE WAR SHARPENS: The No. 1 item on the agenda of the Jan. 8 Commonwealth Conference in Sydney was: "Joint Measures of Defense against an Economic Recession in the U.S." London dispatches said Britain would demand more empire trade preferences (opposed by the U.S., since they are barriers to U.S. penetration), and try to promote more trade within the Commonwealth so "it would be less affected by the ups and downs of the American economy." This means that Britain—whose plan for sterling convertibility (free exchange with other currencies), backed by a huge U.S. dollar fund and lowered U.S. tariffs, has been rebuffed by Washington—is determined to restrict purchases of U.S. goods, to tighten the sterling bloc, for the intensifying trade war with the U.S.

That the U.S. is sharpening its weapons was indicated by two high Treasury officials—Burgess and his aide Andrew Overby—who last month said it was time for major European countries to cut their "coddled" currencies loose for a free convertible run in competitive world markets, but that neither dollar help nor lowered U.S. tariffs was necessary. Washington dispatches report the Administration prepared to let

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Baldwin

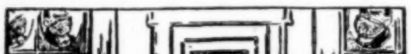
(Continued from page 1)

heaviest Democratic defections came over inflation—higher prices, mounting taxes and too much spending." Irritation over inflation was strongest in low-income areas which again "helps explain why Eisenhower cut across the lines of New Deal voting."

The repudiation of the Democrats did not, Lubell stressed, constitute a repudiation of the New Deal. But the sense of economic solidarity among New Deal elements was blurred by the Korean War (and by the Democratic Party's failure to offer anything, in word or deed, remotely resembling a New Deal program)—while this sense of economic solidarity was sharpened among traditionally Republican voters. Lubell's conclusion was that Eisenhower won "because he served as a substitute for a reshuffling of both major parties"; that is, he won by default since the Democrats offered nothing on the domestic front and only continued war preparations in lieu of a foreign policy. Eisenhower at least promised to end the Korean War.

PEOPLE ARE STIRRING: After a year of the Eisenhower Administration, it is clear that from the people's point of view its only achievement has been to end that war—a move forced by the strength of the world's peace forces. As a substitute for a real realignment of political forces in this country, it isn't working and can't work.

There is still neither war nor peace; the frustrations of the bipartisan foreign policy, if not as acute as during the Korean War, remain and will grow; McCarthyism-Brownellism-McCarranism grow more rampant with the accelerating bankruptcy of Washington's policy; the draft and inflation are still with us. These factors, coupled with the big-business plunder carried out under the aegis of the Administration, have already produced a real stirring in the country. Demands for settlement in place of more war preparations are coming from unexpected quarters. Labor, which has not faced mass unemployment since before World War II, has begun to worry about the recession, "orthodox" or unorthodox, which most economists agree has already started. The insanities of McCarthyism are beginning to produce a questioning of the cold-war ideology.



Conrad in Denver Post

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION 1953

Democrats suicidally blind to what it takes to win

But the Democratic Party has not learned the lesson of 1952—that it can win only if it offers something like a New Deal domestic program and a hope of peace. The Democrats distinguish themselves from the Republicans only by demanding higher war spending, a stronger fight against "world communism." (This is the luxury of a party out of power: the fight against "world communism" has been slowed not by choice of the Republicans but by the strength and resistance of world peace forces.) They will fight the GOP charge of "softness toward communism" by accusing the GOP of "softness towards world communism," and by boasting of the number of Communists they have put in jail—just as during the 1952 campaign Charles Brannan, one of the better men in the Truman Administration, answered a McCarthy attack by declaring the difference between Republicans and Democrats was that the latter had put the Communists in jail.

The Democratic Party is being realigned—but increasingly on Dixiecrat terms. Stevenson, who presents himself as the country's "liberal" leader, spoke before the Georgia State Legislature in praise of Sen. George, one of the bitterest enemies the New Deal ever had, and in praise of Herman Talmadge, a notorious white supremacist, who recently pushed through the state legislature an act to abolish the public school system if the Supreme Court outlaws segregation.

THE TEXAS TOUCH: In the House and Senate, Democratic leadership is vested respectively in Sam Rayburn and Lyndon Johnson, both of Texas—the former more responsible than any other single person for the Tidelands oil steal (in which he was assisted by Johnson), and having thus a community of interest with McCarthy, whose chief financial support comes from the new Texas oil millionaires. Democratic Party Chairman Mitchell recently suggested the anti-Communist "liberal" Americans for Democratic Action disband.

Sen. Hubert Humphrey's recent "Meet the Press" interview summed up the Democratic Party line. He said:

- The Administration is doing a fine job of carrying out the Truman foreign policy. The only quarrel the Democrats have on this score is that it is too interested in reducing taxes and cutting the defense budget.

HUBERT HUMPHREY

There's no real quarrel

- The Democrats will wait for Eisenhower to put forward his farm and labor program before doing anything about a domestic program.
- The Democrats favor a compulsory FEPC but believe we should not go too fast. There was once a danger that the Dixiecrats might bolt the party, but since the Republicans are now as good on civil rights issues as the Democrats, there is now no such danger—the Dixiecrats have no place else to go.

Bases for everybody!

CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND (Reuters) — Britain's Methodist leader, the Rev. Donald Soper, 50, said today he would "very much" like to let Russian soldiers set up bases in Britain to join the Americans who are "in many ways" occupying the country. . . . "America today is pursuing power politics quite ruthlessly. . . . [Most Russians] are quite decent fellows.

An angry questioner asked, "Why don't you go live in Russia?" "Because there are plenty of sinners here for me to work on," Soper replied.

—Chicago Tribune, Dec. 7.

Giving the people a choice: 2 tasks for progressives

The people are looking for solutions. If the Democratic Party continues to "fight" in this fashion, it will be committing suicide in 1954 and the people will have no real choice. Without any real choice, the resultant frustration could prove a more fertile ground for McCarthyism, which will promise solutions of all sorts and to try to whip up a lynch spirit against scapegoats.

Our job is to see that the people have a choice. In assaying our role, we must distinguish between the leadership of the Democratic Party and its social base. Even though broken in 1952, that base remains the coalition built by Roosevelt, principally labor and the Negro people, and to some extent the farmers. Today the labor leadership still trails behind the Democratic Party. Obviously if it continues to do so, any attempt to rebuild the FDR coalition will not get very far.

ACTION: This suggests the lines of action the Progressive Party and other independent political organizations must follow.

One is to sparkplug and popularize our program in mass organizations—trade unions, farmer organizations, organizations of the Negro people. We must stimulate the rank and file of these organizations to make demands on their own leaders to play an independent role, to stop trailing behind the Democratic Party leadership, to force it and its nominees to make commitments on a minimum program.

The other line of action—without which this work in mass organizations cannot be accomplished—is to do what we did in 1948: give the people a voice by running candidates and threatening to run them. In this way we may force the Democrats to make commitments if only out of fear that they will lose if they don't. Our forces are small. We are a legal party only in California, New York and the City of Baltimore; in other places our ranks are reduced. But we must build our party to perform this necessary task. For without independent political organizations we have no real lever against the old parties.

MINIMUM GOAL: The issue is not the victory or defeat of the Democratic Party. It is the extent to which we get our program to the people and get them to act upon it, inside or outside the Democratic Party, inside or outside the Progressive Party. It is now ten months before the Congressional elections. We must start campaigning now around issues: especially, with Washington being forced into talks with Moscow, around genuine negotiations for steps to end the cold war—essential if a domestic program is to get anywhere. By fighting around issues now we can lay the basis for a campaign in the Congressional elections next fall.

Our practical goal should be to defeat the worst reactionaries in Congress and to secure the election of a bloc of Congressmen committed to a minimum program of peace, of ameliorating the impact of economic crisis, of fighting back against McCarthyism.

TAKE THE OFFENSIVE: Unlike 1948, we can put ourselves in the position of enforcing these commitments. In this connection it is relevant to recall the 1933 Congress. This Congress had an overwhelmingly reactionary Democratic majority but it passed some of the most progressive legislation in our history. Among the leading fighters for such legislation were men like Jimmy Byrnes, one of the worst reactionaries. Yet this was no paradox. It was the militancy of the people of that period, the farm and public power groups, the labor unions, the beginning of a new militancy among the Negro people that forced these reactionaries to meet the people's demands.

In 1932 the people voted against Hoover rather than for Roosevelt. In every Presidential election thereafter Roosevelt won by taking the offensive, by carrying the fight to the people. Today with the failures of the bipartisan policy being daily brought closer home to the people, we progressives, instead of being paralyzed by the threat of fascism, must take the offensive to get our program to the people, to stir and guide a new militancy which can enforce that program and contribute to the political realignment, essential to a new and greater New Deal.

Social Security

(Continued from page 1)

money to pay pensions each year. We would be at the mercy of Congress without any right to benefits based on past wages and paid for out of a reserve fund built up from our own payroll deductions, such as we now have."

THE "MORAL" VIEW: For a "study" of the whole question, Republicans chose Rep. Carl T. Curtis (R-Neb.) to head a House subcommittee which conducted two weeks of hearings in November. Curtis has long been opposed to Social Security; in 1949 he said:

> "The Old Age and Survivors Insurance program is grossly unsound and ineffective. . . . The program makes grandiose promises for the future. . . . Our Social Security program is totally immoral."

A CIO tally on Curtis' voting record since 1947 gives him a score of voting "right" exactly six times on 80 key issues, or an average of 93% "wrong." The hearings were rigged; witnesses were selected for their opposition to Social Security and their questions and answers were rehearsed. Labor spokesmen were not heard. Rep. Eberharter, a member of the subcommittee, called the hearings "nothing but an attempt to . . . discredit and smash the present Social Security system."

THE RIGHTS: For the last day of the hearings Rep. Curtis took the extraordinary step of issuing a subpena for Arthur J. Altmeyer, the man who drafted the Social Security plan and administered it since its beginning in 1935 until he was "reorganized" out of his post last year by the Eisenhower government.

Altmeyer was not permitted to state his proposals for strengthening and extending Social Security; what Curtis wanted from him was an admission that the government has no "contractual" obligation to pay Social Security benefits to insured workers as a matter of right. Altmeyer refused to accept the Curtis argument that Social Security consists only of "statutory rights to statutory benefits—rights and benefits that may be altered, amended, or repealed at any time by legislative action." Eberharter commented on this reasoning later:

> "We have a trust fund amounting to approximately $18,000,000,000 to pay these benefits, and it's inconceivable to me that any future Congress would ever revoke the rights that these people have bought with deductions from their pay."

WHOSE MONEY IS IT? But as the old year closed, Curtis announced the proposals he will put before Congress; somewhat disguised, they are the old Chamber of Commerce plan. Said Joseph Curran, chairman of the CIO Social Security Committee:

> "In contrast to the Lehman bill, which would raise benefits, provide disability insurance and cover all the gainfully employed on a sound basis, the Curtis proposal would threaten the benefits now available by raiding the trust fund and ending all Federal grants to the States for the aged and for dependent children. The CIO believes that all persons now aged should be taken care of adequately in an appropriate manner, but out of general revenues, not at the expense of protection assured to other persons as earned rights."

The battle for the right of the American worker to stay out of the poorhouse with money he himself has contributed for that purpose is likely to be a harsh one, considering the heat engendered during the Curtis hearings themselves. At one point during the questioning of Altmeyer, the Curtis gavel-banging got this angry shout from Rep. Dingell (D-Mich.):

> "Quit pounding that damn thing or I'll take it away from you and hit you over the head with it."

NEW YORK EDITION

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WAR ON THE WATERFRONT

NLRB stalls on dock vote; Lewis takes a bigger role

THE Natl. Labor Relations Board panel that ran the waterfront election on Dec. 22-23 had a tough problem: how to drag its feet and still look dignified.

It was obvious that the old Intl. Longshoremen's Assn. had won—yet the NLRB dared not say so. Two weeks after the longshoremen's vote was counted, the board had certified no winner, seemed unlikely ever to do so.

The old ILA led the AFL-ILA by 1,500 votes, not counting some 4,000 challenged ballots—but of these more than 75% had been cast for the ILA and disputed on technical grounds by the AFL. The final count could only increase the old ILA's lead.

AFL FUMES: The AFL blocked any final decisions on the disputed ballots, then challenged the whole election. At first AFL leaders objected that the election ought to be invalidated because John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers had backed the old ILA, financially and morally; that this counted as de facto affiliation of the ILA to the UMW, and since Lewis has never signed the Taft-Hartley non-communist oath, the old ILA ought not to be granted NLRB rights.

AFL leaders dropped that tack for the time being to cooperate with Gov. Dewey's attack on the election on grounds of ILA intimidation.

BABY IN TROUBLE: The entire waterfront maneuver had been Dewey's baby. He had launched the N.Y.-N.J. waterfront commission with its regimentation scheme, had conferred with AFL leaders on how to break up the old ILA and won their full co-operation. When his whole show seemed threatened by the longshore vote, the Governor sent state representatives to throw roadblocks along the NLRB path to certification, threatened board members with investigation if they certified the old ILA. Then he said the state would take "every possible step to repudiate, expose and prevent intimidation of government agencies by threats from any source."

If the NLRB were to grant Dewey's charges of intimidation, it would lose face because it had expressed confidence it could handle intimidation when it called the election. (Actually there was little rough stuff.)

NEW GIMMICK: Last week the board thought they had a device to take them off the hook. The United Fruit Co. employs 1,200 full-time and 2,000 part-time workers in the port. Though it is not a member of the N. Y. Shipping Assn. (listed as the employer in the election), it invariably signs wage and working agreements identical with the Assn.'s and uses the Assn. as agent for distributing pensions, welfare and vacation benefits.

United Fruit workers were listed by NLRB on the voting rolls as eligible. No objections were made before the election. If the board could now point to this "technical error" it could toss out the election without impugning its own judgement in holding it.

CASH FOR A FIGHT: Last week the old ILA received another $50,000 shot-in-the-arm from Lewis. (He had contributed $50,000 before the NLRB vote.) More significant than the miners' money was the sure trade union slant the miners seemed to have lent the old ILA. ILA officials were busy up and down the coast and in Puerto Rico lining up support for a possible strike that could cut through legalisms and go to the heart of the longshoreman's problems: direct negotiation with the shippers for a 25c hourly wage increase, a guaranteed 8-hour day, fairer vacations, pensions and working conditions.

ILA officials said that for that kind of fight Lewis had promised "unlimited financial support."

WHEN IS A WINNER NOT A WINNER?
Dock vote ballots being sorted at NLRB

BOBBY AND VINCE: ONE OF THE GREAT VAUDEVILLE ACTS OF ALL TIME
It goes like this: In the campaign Bobby Wagner pretends he's mad at Vince Impellitteri. They say unkind things about each other. Lots of people are taken in. Then, after he's elected Mayor, Bobby makes Vince a judge. All broken up after the show is Eddie Baker (l.), Richmond borough president. A great little act. Kills us too.

NEW MAYOR KEEPS HALF OF OLD MAYOR'S CABINET

Bob names Impy $19,500 judge in a flagrant five-player deal

The show is over when the grifter (pitchman) and the shill (decoy) divide the take.
OLD CIRCUS MAXIM

AT Gracie Mansion on the last day of the year, Vincent R. Impellitteri and Robert Wagner Jr.—each of whom two months earlier had been promising to drive what the other stood for out of public life forever—sat down for a chat and some year-end trading.

On the table were four judgeships and a lifetime membership on the Board of Water Supply. When the bargaining was over, Tammany Hall's Herbert M. Rosenberg had been given the $15,000-a-year Water Board job. In September, 1952, Impellitteri had fired Rosenberg from the City Tax Commission in a spasmodic war with Tammany.

Wilfred A. Waltemade, asst. dist. atty. in the Bronx, was made a Domestic Relations Court judge ($19,500 a year). Waltemade is part of the Buckley machine, formerly that of the late Boss Flynn, which backed Wagner.

"IT WOULD BE NICE": In return for these plums Wagner agreed to make Impellitteri a justice in the Court of Special Sessions, paying $19,500 a year and qualifying him in 1955 for a retirement pension of $20,000 a year for the rest of his life. Impellitteri's supporters were well treated. The outgoing mayor was allowed to hand out another Special Sessions Court post to his deputy mayor, Charles Horowitz, and give his asst. corp. counsel Reuben Levy a 10-year term as City Magistrate. Appointments as City Marshall were passed around like Christmas candy; one was given to Impellitteri's chauffeur, James V. McNulty.

Both Wagner and Impellitteri solemnly denied that a "deal" had been made. Wagner said both the incoming and outgoing Boards of Estimate had agreed "it would be nice to do something for Impellitteri."

SMALL DISMAY: On Saturday morning Mayor Wagner called ex-mayor Impellitteri into his office at City Hall. The ex-mayor turned to his wife and said: "Let's go in before he changes his mind." Wagner said it was a privilege to swear him in. Impellitteri, who had registered at the Towers Hotel in Brooklyn in advance of the ceremony (to satisfy legal residence requirements), "moved out" promptly.

The deal's final consummation stirred little indignation in the city. There had been hints of it during the campaign and since. (The GUARDIAN warned of it in October, again 12/28).

The campaign speeches had been swallowed with considerable salt, and few quarters indicated shock. Among those expressing dismay was the Citizens Union; it said its legal counsel was looking into the judgeship-juggling.

A NEGRO ASST.: Over the week-end the new Mayor swore in 36 City Hall officials, half of whom are Impellitteri hold-

(Continued on Page N. Y. 2)

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AS THE STATE LEGISLATURE OPENS

Dewey rejects Wagner appeal; both ignore real estate tax

THE campaign for the governorship of New York was on, and legislative programs were being stockpiled for campaign ammunition. Earlier Mayor Wagner had filed demands with Albany for funds for wage raises for city workers, increased school aid, tax adjustments. A veto was plainly expected and the machinery was ready to grind that veto into campaign issues.

Within 24 hours of receipt of Wagner's memo Dewey rejected it, said it had been "obviously advanced in bad faith" and would necessitate a 70% boost in the state's income taxes. Dewey plainly expected that in time Wagner would impose the payroll tax he had always espoused and that in turn would be grist for the Albany mill.

REAL ESTATE TAX: Wagner prepared an answer to be delivered by radio later in the week, but Dewey rested secure in the assurance that Wagner would not take the one step that could solve a good part of the city's financial problem: reassessing big commercial property, most of which is still taxed at evaluation made during the depression.

(Continued on Page N. Y. 2)

Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.
Copy deadline Tuesday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, National Guardian, 17 Murray St., N. Y. 7.

NEW YORK CALENDAR

LES PINE!!! At ALP ANTI-McCARTHY PARTY. Dancing, refreshments. Sat., Jan. 9, at Gilgoff ALP, 1602 Pitkin Av. (nr. Hopkinson), B'klyn. Sub: $1.

CARL MARZANI speaks on "The Menace of McCarthyism," Fri., Jan. 15, 8:30 p.m. East Midtown Club, ALP, 137 E. 34th St. Adm: Free.

THE DEBATE in the ALP. Harry Braverman, editor of the "American Socialist," will discuss the role of the ALP and how a socialist mass party will emerge in America. Fri., Jan. 15, 8 p.m., 863 Broadway (17th St.) Questions, discussion, refreshments. Contribution: 25c. Auspices: The American Socialist.

NADINE BREWER SINGS
at Film Division's weekly surprise party. Social, refreshments and a surprise package. Entertainment for all. Sat., Jan. 9, 9 p.m., at ASP Galleries, 35 W. 64th St. Cont: $1.

"BEHIND THE BERIA PURGE" will be the subject of a lecture by John G. Wright, Fri., Jan. 15, 8 p.m., Militant Hall, 116 University Pl. (nr. Union Sq.). Ausp: Friday Night Socialist Forum of Socialist Workers Party. Cont.: 25c.

MEET YOUR NEIGHBOR PARTY. Dance contest, prizes, refreshments, entertainment-singer, guitarist, pianist. ALP, 220 W. 80th St. (nr. B'way), Sat. nite, Jan. 9. 8:30 p.m. Admission: 75c.

LITERARY-SOCIAL, Sun., Jan. 10, 8:30 p.m., at ASP, 35 W. 64th St. Another "Writing Out Loud." Hear 3 stories of our time by new talents from our writing workshops. Audience discussion, social hour follow. Cont. 60c, incl. refreshments.

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While their mothers work, kids play "pick-up-sticks" with teacher Charles Robinson at Hamilton Grange Day Care Center, 715 Riverside Dr. Families pay what they can afford. The Center, which must raise money on its own to qualify for city support, is holding a matinee dance, Sunday afternoon, Jan. 17, at Savoy Ballroom.

Dewey ignores

(Continued from Page N. Y. 1)

Only the American Labor Party, in the recent campaign, pressed that solution. Last week Paul Ross, chairman of the Municipal Affairs Committee of the ALP, wired Dewey: "Your unseemly haste in rejecting Mayor-elect Wagner's proposals . . . indicates your continued disregard for the welfare of New York City. . . . Your accusation of playing politics comes with ill grace from a governor whose tax program has already imposed a 15c fare, a 15% rent-increase, and a 3% sales tax upon the people of New York City."

QUESTION OF FAITH: To Wagner Ross was sympathetic but admonishing. He wrote that "we share with the people of our city the sense of outrage at Gov. Dewey's summary rejection of your proposals." He recalled the ALP's plan and added: "If your administration does not take this local action the suspicion of 'bad faith' might arise in connection with other proposals you make."

Richard H. Balch, chairman of the State Democratic Committee, joined the volleying with a 14-point "legislative program" frankly announced as a campaign platform. The program promised an investigation of the milk monopoly, a "sweeping bi-partisan investigation of corruption in the Dewey Administration," support of a $500,000,000 bond issue for new schools, $300,000,000 bond issue for low-cost housing, roll-back of residential rents to May 31, 1953, increased exemptions for income tax purposes, $1-an-hour minimum wage, permanent personal registration. The other points were too general to rouse any argument.

UNSPOKEN ISSUES: Rep. Dean P. Taylor, Republican state chairman, said the program consisted of "smear, innuendo and more pie-in-the-sky by the I-can-get-it-for-you-wholesale political stooges now openly working for Tammany Hall."

The Balch program actually would tangle with the GOP chiefly on the rent roll-back and arithmetic.

In his message to the Legislature Dewey called for a $265,000,000 bond issue for low-rent housing, a $350,000,000 bond issue for mental hospitals, a code for legislators assuring "uncompromising integrity." On state-aid to education he was vague.

More interesting were the issues left out of both programs because these marked the wide areas of substantial agreement. No mention was made of the waterfront where Dewey, without objection from City Hall, has moved before the NLRB to nullify the longshoremen's vote and impose full state regimentation; Transit Authority legislation (Democrats were apparently burying the 15c fare as an issue); the witch-hunt in the schools and civil service; Dewey's proposed investigation of union welfare funds in the guise of racket-chasing. These key questions seemed likely to be dead in the coming campaign unless the ALP took them up.

DIGNIFIED DEATH: Dewey offered a guide for witch-hunting that seemed to fit the requirements of "dignity" laid down by Adlai Stevenson Democrats. Opening Columbia University's bi-centennial celebration, Dewey called for "the proper, quiet, methodical elimination of those who are subject to a foreign discipline . . . without publicity and even without publication of the name of the person involved. It need never be accompanied by injury to the reputation of decent people, or to the untrammeled exploration of intellectual or scientific inquiry and teaching."

The Legislature, which convened Jan. 6, is likely to devote its early weeks to political jockeying, echoing the Wagner-Dewey exchange. Aside from the question of aid to the cities (principally New York) and budgetary questions, the hottest issue seems to be Dewey's pet bill requiring automobile owners to carry liability insurance.

Wagner deal

(Continued from Page N. Y. 1)

overs. One new appointment is a Negro—Mrs. Anne Hedgeman, a mayor's assistant. Earlier, Harlem leaders were reported outraged at Wagner's failure to grant Negroes adequate representation among his advisers.

Though the assistant's post is without great influence or salary ($8,000 a year), Mrs. Hedgeman will set precedent as the first Negro to occupy it in any administration. She had been active in the Wagner campaign, had served in the city's Welfare Dept., the Emergency Relief Bureau and as asst. administrator of the Federal Security Agency.

There was concern meanwhile over the fate of three Negroes who had been serving under Impellitteri: 7th Deputy Police Comm. Billy Rowe, Deputy Housing Comm. Frederick Weaver, Secy. to the Bd. of Estimate Mrs. Ruth Whitehead Waley. At GUARDIAN press time no announcement had yet been made of their reappointment.

"WE HOPE YOU BELIEVE . . .": Wagner broke precedent and named the city's first two women commissioners: Dr. Leona Baumgartner, Comm. of Health, and Magistrate Anna M. Kross, Comm. of Correction.

As the new Mayor took over, bus riders beginning Sunday

morning paid an additional 3c on lines not already raised to 15c. On Monday a further stretch of the antique, 15c-fare 3d Av. "El" was taken out of service; with Chatham Sq. the new terminus, most of the thousands of East Siders using it to go to work downtown switched to the already over-saturated Lexington Av. subway.

Waterfront workers still looked for help as governmental machinery tried not only to regiment them but to nullify their union vote; a telephone rate rise threatened; school teachers and civil servants faced a stepped-up witch-hunt. The city was saddled with the sales tax and the 15c fare; there was widespread fear of a recession. Mayor Wagner in his first inaugural on New Year's Day got no closer than this to brass tacks:

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FROM NEW AMSTERDAM TO NUEVA YORK

The changing face of a city in its 4th century

By Elmer Bendiner

THREE HUNDRED years ago Gov. Peter Stuyvesant, fearing an attack from New England, built the wall in Wall Street and set up a battery of guns in Battery Park. The top-secret military installation at the Battery, pleasantly overgrown, quickly became what Washington Irving's Father Knickerbocker called "the scene of many a gambol in happy childhood, of many a tender assignation in riper years."

Neither Wall St. nor the Battery held off the invasion. The New Englanders' preoccupation with hunting witches (a fever which did not spread to New York until three centuries later) postponed the British conquest for 13 years. Stuyvesant's civil defense measures had little effect but served to give the city its first boundaries and a birthday. By that reckoning New York this month starts its fourth century.

The city's growth in 300 years can be measured on a map; but that method scarcely tells the story. Author Konrad Bercovici once commented: "New York from the Battery to Canal St. is history; from Canal St. upward it is real estate."

ON THE WAY: New York has grown not only large but great due to a series of invasions on which it continues to thrive. The British took over in the city's first century by what was called a military invasion though nobody fired a shot.

By the end of the second century, the 1850's, the city was on the eve of its greatest invasions and its real greatness. The Irish had begun to arrive. In 40 years some 2,500,000 came to the country and many stayed where they landed—in New York. They came because an empire had forced their homeland into poverty; they needed jobs and food.

They took the city's roughest jobs and rougher bigotry. They bucked employers who posted signs: "No Irish need apply." They were forced into slums, restricted into certain occupations, lampooned on the stage. But despite the best efforts of bigots, they did the city's work, changed its culture, built it.

1848 AND AFTER: Fleeing European upheavals after the 1848 revolutions came Germans. In the 1880's came the Italians, Poles, Russians, Czechs, Jewish and non-Jewish, some fleeing terror and some fleeing poverty. Whole families slept on a single bed in tenement apartments that rented at $9 a room on the upper floors, $6.50 lower down and nearer the privies. The city became divided into quarters; some of the boundaries are blurred now, but the lines are still there. Melting was always slow in the pot.

If ghetto walls were tall and strong for the Jews and Irish they were prison-like for the Negro New Yorkers. Though some were here from early colonial days, most came north as Freedmen, or refugees from an American oppression more savage than the Czar's. But for them the oppression, closer to home, carried over and made Harlem a walled town within a city. Negro New Yorkers reached over that wall to do the city's work, and at the same time add the most vigorous note to the city's theatre and music.

In 30 years, 1860-1890, 10 million people "yearning to breathe free" landed at the Battery. They built the city, changed its life. In 1954, through modern "Know - Nothings" post wardens at "Freedom's Gate," Puerto Ricans land by planeload at Idlewild to keep the city growing.

THE 4 HATES: Some kept protesting the city's growth. In 1844 the Native Americans, an anti-foreign anti-Catholic group, elected as Mayor James Harper of the publishing firm. Later they combined with other premature McCarranites into a secret society, pledged to answer all questions concerning their objectives: "I know nothing." At various times there were "Know-Nothing" governors in seven states and the movement broadened its targets. Historians Charles and Mary Beard later listed their hates: "Foreigners, the papacy, infidelity and socialism."

As the city went into its fourth century, latter-day Know Nothings were decrying a new change. Again newcomers were being forced into tenements with one bed to a family—occasionally into the same tenements the Irish had used when they first landed. But this was clearly a new century: only the bigotry was the same.

The difference was that bigotry was now official. The Statue of Liberty, once a world-wide symbol of welcome, now seemed more like a warden keeping some from coming in without being frisked for ideas, others from going out. The inscription on Liberty's base, greeting those "yearning to breathe free," had been converted into a curiosity.

OVER THE WALLS: Immigration bans were designed to prevent any mass immigration such as had made New York great. But, by a quirk of history, the U.S. ownership of Puerto Rico had forced upon the islanders citizenship—not Puerto Rican but U.S. No law could keep them out.

The Puerto Ricans were coming, pressed by poverty and colonialism as the Irish had been, but they came at a time when ghetto walls were being breached. They came to reinforce the pent-up strength of the Negro New Yorkers walled in for centuries. The newcomers shared in part the Negro's dark skin, the prejudice a color difference stirs in the Know Nothings, the solidarity it stirs in others.

They came armed with a ballot to join the fight for political representation. Above all, they came too late for new ghettoes. Already the shingles of "carnicerias" are found far beyond the original "barrio" in East Harlem. Scarcely a neighborhood is now without signs of Spanish life. The many-tongued language of New York, which had been toned down in recent years to English with an occasional foreign phrase for seasoning, grew richer overnight.

STRAIGHT LINE: No newcomers were ever more needed. Without them the population of the city would be declining, its services would be short of manpower. For the middle class has left the heart of the city for the suburbs. Many of the workers have left for bigger industrial regions. The city would have suffered without its latest invasion.

One Puerto Rican newcomer told Winifred Raushenbush (**Harper's Magazine, 5/53**): "We are really going to straighten out this city on the color question."

That sounded the keynote of New York's fourth century.

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HE'S STILL BUILDING

NAACP feels reprisal for aid to Wilson

THE Central Long Island branch of the NAACP went to the defense of Negro businessman Clarence Wilson, who is trying to build a home in lily-white Copiague and has had his house burned twice. Last month the Amityville Board of Education, in what seemed a reprisal for the Wilson defense, charged the NAACP branch with "illegal collection of funds."

On Dec. 1 the branch held a meeting in the Amityville high school (GUARDIAN, 12/7), at which Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt spoke. The rally had been originally called to raise funds to fight school segregation in the South. The Wilson case brought an issue close to home. NAACP spokesmen said it had held fund-raising meetings in the school before, that the meeting had been called to raise funds with the Board of Education's permission. Part of the $700 raised went to aid Wilson.

Though the Northport Savings & Loan Assn. has canceled Wilson's mortgage, and fire insurance has been denied him, Wilson is continuing his efforts to build.

RESORTS

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Movie Suggestions

Special

BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC, Lafayette Av. & Ashland Pl. **Justice Is Done** (Fr.) & **Visit to Picasso,** 8:15 p.m., Thurs., Jan. 14. $1.

CLUB CINEMA, 6th Av. bet. 9-10 Sts. Fri., Sat., Sun.

INTERNATIONAL FILM CLASSICS: **Soviet Union on Film,** 3-day festival, Jan. 8-10, $1.25, members $1.

Fri., Jan. 8, 8:30 & 10:30 p.m. Adventure in Bokhara (dir. Protosanov, 1943), **The Lower Depths, Ulanova & Conditioned Reflexes** (Pavlov experiments) shorts.

Sat., Jan. 9, 11 a.m. Children's program (see Children's Films).

Sat., Jan. 9, 3 p.m. Ivan the Terrible (Eisenstein, 1944) & **They See Again & High Hill,** shorts.

Sat., Jan. 9, 8:30 & 10 p.m. Peter the Great (dir. Vladin Petrov, 1937), **Moscow Sports Stadium & Bayaderka Ballet** shorts.

Sun., Jan. 10, 3 p.m. Shors (dir. Dovjenko, 1939), folk art & cartoon shorts.

Sun., Jan. 10, 8:30 & 10 p.m. Lenin in October (dir. Michael Romm, 1937), **Moscow in Construction & Ballet and Folk Dances** shorts.

MEXICO: The Forgotten Village (1941), Herbert Kline, dir., scenario by John Steinbeck & **Sky Dances of Papantala,** docum. of annual ancient dance of the Voladores. 8:30 & 10 p.m. Fri. & Sat. & Sun., Jan. 15-17.

MUSEUM OF MODERN ART, 11 W. 53d St. 3 & 5:30 p.m. daily.

Citizen Kane (Orson Welles, 1941), Jan. 4-17. One show only, 3 p.m.

Manhattan

AMERICAN, 236 E. 3d St. **The Last Stop** (Polish, on concentration camps) & Laurel and Hardy, Jan. 14-15.

ART, 36 E. 8th St. **The Cruel Sea** (Br.), Jan. 9-12; **From Here to Eternity,** Jan. 13-19.

BARONET, 3d Av. & 59th St. **Shane** (western), Jan. 9-10; **The Band Wagon** (musical), Jan. 11-12; **Crash of Silence** (Br., formerly **Story of Mandy,** a deaf child), Jan. 13-14; **Call Me Madam,** Jan. 15-16.

BEEKMAN, 2d Av. bet. 65-66. **Folly To Be Wise** (Br., Alistair Sim), thru Jan. 13; **From Here to Eternity,** from Jan. 14.

BEVERLY, 3d Av. & 50th St. **Little World of Don Camillo** (It.), thru Jan. 9; **Bad and the Beautiful & Savage Splendor** (docum.), Jan. 10-12; **American in Paris & Destry Rides Again** (Dietrich & J. Stewart, '39), Jan. 13-16.

BIJOU, 45th St. W. of B'way. **Gilbert and Sullivan** (Br.), cont., reserved seats.

COLONY, 1519 2d Av. **American in Paris & Detective Story,** Jan. 10-11.

85TH ST. TRANSLUX, Madison & 85th. **Justice Is Done** (Fr.), thru Jan. 9; **Murder on Monday** (Br.), Jan. 10-14.

8TH ST. PLAYHOUSE, 52 W. 8th. **Beggar's Opera,** thru Jan. 11.

55TH ST. PLAYHOUSE, 154 W. 55th. **Spice of Life** (Fr., Noel Noel) & **Pleasure Garden** (Br.), cont.

52D ST. TRANSLUX, Lexington & 52d. **Lili,** cont.

FINE ARTS, 58th bet. Park-Lexington. **Conquest of Everest** (Br. docum.), cont.

GRAMERCY, Lexington & 23d St. **Beggar's Opera,** thru Jan. 12; **From Here to Eternity,** Jan. 13-19.

GRANDE, 86th & Lexington. **The Grapes Are Ripe** (Ger. comedy, Eng. subtitles), thru Jan. 13.

GUILD, 33 W. 50th St. **Times Gone By** (It.), cont.

LITTLE CARNEGIE, 146 W. 57th St. **Heidi** (Swiss, Eng. dubbed) & **White Mane,** cont.

NORMANDIE, 110 W. 57th St. **The Little Fugitive** (Morris Engel-Ray Ashley Venice winner), cont.

PARIS, 4 W. 58th St. **Captain's Paradise** (Br., Guinness), cont.

PLAZA, 58th & Madison. **Julius Caesar,** cont.

72D ST. TRANSLUX, 346 E. 72d. **Stage Door** (reissue with Hepburn, others), cont.

60TH ST. TRANSLUX, Madison & 60th. **Annapurna** (mtn.-climbing docum.), cont.

STANLEY, 7th Av. at 42d St. **Chuk and Gek** (2 Russ. boys in the Arctic, Venice '53 prize-winner), & **Daring Circus Youth,** (Moscow circus, color), cont.

SUTTON, 3d Av. & 57th St. **Disney's Living Desert** (full-length docum.), cont.

THALIA, 95th & B'way. **French Holiday** (Fr.), & **39 Steps** (reissue), thru Jan. 14.

WAVERLY, 6th Av. & 3d St. **Sea Around Us** (docum.) & **Night Without Stars** (Br.), thru Jan. 9; **Call Me Madam & The Inforcer,** Jan. 10-11.

Bronx

ASCOT, 2313 Gr. Concourse. **Beggar's Opera,** from Jan. 12.

CREST, 1145 Ogden Av. **Don Camillo & Young Caruso** (both It.), Jan. 11-12; **The Robe,** Jan. 13-17.

DOVER, 1723 Boston Rd. **Sailor of the King** (Br.) & **City of Bad Men,** Jan. 10-13.

Events for Children

Films

CLUB CINEMA, 430 6th Av. Russian films for children: **In the Circus Arena** & shorts. 11 a.m., Sat., Jan. 9. Kids 50c, adults 75c.

MUSEUM OF CITY OF N. Y., 5th Av. & 103d St. **The American Revolution & The Road to Television** (docum. films), Sat., Jan. 9 at 11 a.m. & 3 p.m. Free.

McMILLAN THEATER, Columbia University, B'way at 116th St. Walt Disney nature film, **Seal Island.** Sat., Jan. 16, at 2 p.m. Tickets available at McMillan Theatre on day of performance only. Advance tickets or information, call MO 3-5709 or MO 3-5212. 50c.

AMER. MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, Central Park W. at 79th St. DOCUMEN. FILMS: **Buffalo Lore & Pueblo Heritage,** Wed., Jan. 13, at 4 p.m. Recorded music starts at 3:30 p.m. before film showing. Free.

MUSEUM OF CITY OF N. Y., 5th Av. & 103d St. DOCUM. FILMS: **America the Beautiful; Barnard; Pass Lion, Pass.** Sat., Jan. 16, at 11 a.m. & 3 p.m. Free.

N. Y. HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Central Park W. at 77th St. **America the Beautiful; The River; New York — The Wonder City.** Sat., Jan. 9, 2 p.m. **Lobstertown; Mt. Vernon in Va.; The Town; Library of Congress,** Jan. 16, at 2 p.m. Free.

N. Y. BOTANICAL GARDENS, Bronx Park. **A Trip to Machias Seal Island** (kodachromes). Sat., Jan. 16. at 3:30 p.m. Museum Bldg. Free.

Dance & Music

MUSICAL NEIGHBORS, Pitt St. Orchestra (Music School, 50-piece orchestra of children under 15 years). Henry St. Playhouse, 466 Grand St. Sat., Jan. 16, at 3 p.m. Children 10c, adults 60c.

STORY BOOK DANCES: The Indian Sun (Indian legend); **Sokar and the Crocodile** (from old Egypt); **The Lobster Quadrille** (wonderland). By the Henry St. Playhouse Dance Co. (adult dancers). YM-YWHA, Kaufman Auditorium, 92d St. & Lexington Av. Sun., Jan. 10, at 3:30 p.m. $1-$2. Half price rates for groups of 20 or more. TR 6-2366.

YOUNG PEOPLE'S CONCERTS: For children 9 and older. **The Story of the Symphony,** third concert in a series of five. Carnegie Concert Hall, 7th Av. & 57th St. Sat., Jan. 20, at 11 a.m. 50c-$2.75. CI 7-7460.

Miscellaneous

ICE SKATING: Flushing Meadows, Queens. Sessions at 2:30-5:30 p.m. & 8:30-11 p.m. Mats. children 35c, adults 40c; eves. children & adults 50c.

EXHIBIT: Natl. Motor Boat Show. Golden Jubilee celebration. Kingsbridge Armory, Kingsbridge Rd. & Jerome Av., Bronx. Jan. 15-23.

LAWRENCE OLIVIER

In "The Beggar's Opera," British film version of John Gay's 1728 London play now making the rounds of the neighborhoods.

Plays

LITTLE MEN, Junior Theater production. Carnegie Recital Hall, 154 W. 57th St. Sats., Jan. 2, 9, 16, at 2:15 p.m. $1.20-$2.40. Less 20% for subscriptions for four shows or groups of 10 or more. CI 6-0224.

LITTLE RED RIDING HOOD, by Children's Own Theater, Metropolitan Duane, 201 W. 13th St., nr. 7th Av. Sats. thru Jan. at 3 p.m. Child audience participation. PL 7-6300.

RAPUNZEL AND THE WITCH, Children's World Theater. Stage play in three acts. B'klyn Acad. of Music, Lafayette Av. & Ashland Pl. Sat., Jan. 16, at 3 p.m. 60c-$1.50. ST 3-6700.

TOM SAWYER, children's play by Children's World Theater. Audience participation. Children's Center, YM-YWHA, 92d St. & Lexington Av. Sun., Jan. 17, at 3:30 p.m. Half-price rates for groups of 20 or more. $1-$2. TR 6-2366.

Where to Go

Drama

MADAM, WILL YOU WALK, Sidney Howard's fantasy with Hume Cronyn & Jessica Tandy. Phoenix Theatre, 2d Av. & 12th St. 8:30 p.m. eves. except Mon., mats. Sat., Sun. $1.20-$3. AL 4-0525. Thru Jan. 10.

MADWOMAN OF CHAILLOT, with Karen Morley & Tony Kraber, Brett Warren, dir. 8:30 p.m. Mon.-Thurs. Actor's Mobile Theatre, 430 6th Av. Reserv: GR 7-2430. Opens Tues., Jan. 12.

THE EMPEROR'S CLOTHES, by George Tabori, directed by David Pressman. Greenwich Mews interracial theater. 141 W. 13th St. Nightly except Mon. & Fri., 8:40 p.m. Reserv: TR 3-4810.

THE WORLD OF SHOLOM ALEICHEM, 19th century Jewish humor dramatized by Arnold Perl. Barbizon-Plaza Theater, 58th & 6th Av. Tues.-Sun. eves., mats. Sat. & Sun. CO 5-7845.

OTHELLO, Shakespeare Guild Festival professional repertory. Jan Hus House, 351 E. 74th St. Thurs.-Sun. eves., 8:40. $1.20-$1.80; Sat. mat., 2:40. 78c-$1.20. TR 9-5480.

SIMPLETON OF THE UNEXPECTED ISLES, by G. B. Shaw. Vaughn-James production, Davenport Theater, 138 E. 27th St. 8:45 nightly except Monday. $1-$3. Reserv: MU 4-9485.

HOME OF THE BRAVE, Arthur Laurents' 1945 B'way play on anti-Semitism. Hudson Guild Community Players, "N. Y.'s only non-commercial repertory." 8:40 p.m., Jan. 8 & 9, 15 & 16, Hudson Guild, 436 W. 27th St. 50c (members), $1.

LISA STRATTER, modern adaptation by Andrew Boracci of Lysistrata, Aristophanes' comedy on war, set at UN headquarters. Provincetown Playhouse, 133 MacDougal St. Opened Jan. 8 for 2 weeks. GR 7-9894.

Miscellaneous

ECONOMIC OUTLOOK FOR 1954, symposium with Victor Perlo, Meyer Weise, David Goldway, Albert Prago. 8:30 p.m., Sun., Jan. 10, Jefferson School, 575 Av. of Americas. $1, students 50c.

ARTHUR MILLER talks. 8:40 p.m., Wed., Jan. 13. YM-YWHA Poetry Center, Lexington & 92d St. $2 $ $2.50. TR 6-2366.

SCOTT NEARING lecture series. No. II: "The Key Role in Germany," 8:30 p.m., Thurs., Jan. 14, Adelphi Hall, 74 5th Av. (14th St.) $1 at door, 75c in advance from Monthly Review Assoc., 66 Barrow St.

BYRON & SHELLEY vs. McCARTHY, discussion with Annette T. Rubinstein, author of **The Great Tradition in English Literature.** 8:20 p.m., Tues., Jan. 12, ASP Clubrooms, 35 W. 64th St. Writing & Publishing Div., spons.

Music & Dance

JACOB SCHAEFER. Annual concert of works of Jewish composer with Schaefer-Peretz oratorio "Zwei Brider," Israel folk songs, conducted by Eugene Malek. Alice Richmond, Cantor Edgar Mills, soloists. Jewish Peoples Philharmonic Chorus. Sat. eve., Jan. 9, Town Hall, 113 W. 43d St.

GERSHWIN FESTIVAL, soloists & orchestra. Sat. eve., Jan. 9, Hunter College, 69th St. & Park Av. $1.80-$4.80. RE 7-8490.

SZYMON GOLDBERG, violinist. 8:15 p.m., Sat., Jan. 9, Washington Irving High School, Irving Pl. & 16th St. 75c. Peoples' Symphony Concerts, 32 Union Sq., Rm. 1202. GR 3-1391.

BYRON JANIS, pianist. 8:15 p.m., Sat., Jan. 16. People's Symphony Concerts, see under Szymon Goldberg, above.

ANDRES SEGOVIA, guitarist. 8:40 p.m., Sun., Jan. 10, Town Hall. $1.20-$3.

AMATO OPERA, 8:30 p.m., 159 Bleecker St. Free. Reserv: GR 7-2844. **Barber of Seville** (in English), Fri.-Sun., Jan. 8-10; in Italian, Jan. 15-17.

THEATER EVENING

'The Remarkable Mr. Pennypacker'

MR. PENNYPACKER (Burgess Meredith) is a bold but gentle non-conformist whose work forces him to live equally in Wilmington and Philadelphia. He is happily married with a family in each town (9 and 8 children, respectively, for this is 1890). His attempts to explain it in terms of his "Darwinian" philosophy to the Philly Mrs. P. (Martha Scott) who catches on, and his daughter's future father-in-law who is a preacher (Glenn Anders), provide many laughs. These plus Ben Edwards' set, a cast of extremely good actors, and an uncounted number of tow-headed kids provide an enjoyable evening. Even if the idea discussions (and they are many and talky) are no more daring than Darwin is today, it is heart-warming to see Burgess Meredith romping over the stage as a completely uninhibited non-conformist unafraid to put his philosophy into practice.

I. K.

THE REMARKABLE MR. PENNYPACKER, by Liam O'Brien, presented by Robert Whitehead and Roger L. Stevens, directed by Alan Schneider. Coronet, 49th, W. of B'way.

N. Y. C. BALLET, Geo. Balanchine, dir. 8:30 p.m., eves. except Monday.; Mats., Sat. & Sun. $1.50-$3.60.

Tues. eve., Jan. 12: Swan Lake, Fanfare, La Valse, Pied Piper; **Wed. eve., Jan. 13:** Serenade, Scotch Symphony, Afternoon of Faun, Bouree Fantasque; **Thurs. eve., Jan. 14:** Fanfare, Firebird, Pas de Trois, Symphony in C; **Fri. eve., Jan. 15:** Concerto Barocco, Age of Anxiety, Pas de Trois, Bouree Fantasque; **Sat. mat., Jan. 16:** Concerto Barocco, Swan Lake, A La Francaix, Fanfare; **Sat. eve., Jan. 16:** Serenade, Scotch Symphony, Afternoon of Faun, Pied Piper; **Sun. mat., Jan. 17:** Fanfare, Serenade, Pas de Trois, Pied Piper; **Sun. eve., Jan. 17:** Swan Lake, The Cage, A La Francaix, Symphony in C.

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SAT. EVE., JAN. 23 — 8:40 | PEOPLE'S ARTISTS Present An Evening of | THE PYTHIAN 135 W. 70th St.

American & Roumanian Music

With: Ray Lev, Pete Seeger, Laura Duncan, Martha Schlamme, Leon Bibb, Betty Sanders, Louis Graeler, Jewish Young Folk-Singers.

Tickets: $2.40, $1.80, $1.20 (all seats reserved) at box office eve. of perf. or People's Artists, 124 W. 21st St. (WA 9-3907).

Festival of Intl. Film Classics

Jan. 8-10. Films from the USSR: Fri. Eve., ADVENTURE IN BOKHARA; Sat., Children's program, 11 a.m., IN THE CIRCUS ARENA; Matinee, IVAN THE TERRIBLE; Evening, PETER THE GREAT; Sunday, Matinee, SHORS; Evening, LENIN IN OCTOBER. Also shorts on arts, sciences & sports.

Shows: 8:30 & 10:30 p.m.
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SHE GIVES NO OTHER NAME, SHE HAS ONE PURPOSE

This is the story of Peace Pilgrim

By Eugene Gordon

LAST Feb. 12 a short item appeared in the GUARDIAN, based on an Oceanside (Calif.) **Daily Blade** clipping sent by a reader, about a woman who had set out on a coast-to-coast pilgrimage to promote world peace. Since then a few stray references to "Peace Pilgrim" have turned up in small papers across the country. One said: "There is something inspiring about her. No one whose life touches hers is ever quite the same afterward." The Harvey County (Kan.) **News** (6/23), after telling of its reporter's attempt to trick her into betraying her "racket," ended in a song of praise. Another clipping quoted her:

"There is a magic formula for resolving conflicts: Have as your objective the resolving of the conflict, not the gaining of advantage. There is a magic formula for avoiding conflict: Be concerned that you do not offend, not that you are not offended."

5 PAIRS OF SHOES: The Washington **Post** (11/17) first revealed that she was nearing the east coast, in this account:

". . . She's a middle-aged, blue-eyed, graying wisp of a woman who . . . has walked every step of the way [from Los Angeles], turning down from 10 to 25 offers of rides a day. . . . She has worn out five pairs of shoes. . . . She walks, she says, until she is given shelter; fasts until she is given food; accepts money to help bring her message home to people. . . . When night falls, and she has been offered no shelter, she beds down wherever she is. . . . She recalled finding 'a nice gully' between here and Pittsburgh some nights back. She made a bed of leaves, covered it with newspapers, and crawled in. Woke up next morning feeling fine. It had been cold enough for frost on the ground."

Two days before Christmas I found her in a modest Greenwich Av. apartment in New York. She was no "wisp"; slender, but robust and ruddy from the out-of-doors. Her broad face—large eyes and large mouth smiling—was as open as a child's.

"NOT AN INDIVIDUAL": Yes, she said, she had been contacting the papers when she got into a town, as the news agencies advised her to do when she started out; but she would not give out personal information, fearing they would publish just that and "nothing of the pilgrimage or the message, which I consider important. . . . I don't think of myself as an individual." Despite the many interviews, they had published little, although she appeared fairly often on radio and TV in smaller cities. A sympathetic N.Y. **Times** reporter doubted if his paper would publish anything without her name; he was right. When I said people would naturally be curious about her home life, she said:

"I have none, only a forwarding address: Cologne, N.J. About myself I'll say only this. I come from a poor family. I have little education, no special talents."

St. Louis Globe-Democrat

"The cup that never runneth over."

On her 5,000-mile walk, Peace Pilgrim wore dark blue slacks and this tunic lettered on the back: WALKING COAST TO COAST FOR PEACE. The people of America were glad to talk and offer hospitality.

Her pilgrimage, she said, was

". . . a real one, on foot, without money, as penance and prayer for world peace. But it was a wonderful opportunity to talk with thousands of people about the way to peace. Many along the highways, seeing the sign on my tunic, stopped to talk. In cities I spoke to as many as seven groups in one day. People signed my petitions and returned them to me or sent them direct to the President. I stopped at the White House to see him. He was in Canada. I saw his pastor.

"My 5,000-mile walk is finished, but I consider my pilgrimage as only a launching of the peace petitions—only a part of my work for peace to which I have dedicated my life. I arrived too late to present my petitions to the UN, so I'll have to come back."

GOLDEN RULE MESSAGE: Most reporters "haven't been concerned about my message or petitions—as soon as I mention peace they switch to something personal."

"**Our** readers are interested in what you say and do for peace," I told her.

"Thank you." Smiling, she handed me a typed "Peace Pilgrim's Message":

"My friends, the world situation is grave. Humanity, with fearful faltering steps, walks a knife-edge between abysmal chaos and a new renaissance, while strong forces push toward chaos. Unless we, the people of the world, awake from our lethargy and push firmly and quickly away from chaos, all that we cherish will be destroyed in the holocaust. . . .

"This is the way to peace. Overcome evil with good, and falsehood with truth, and hatred with love. The Golden Rule would do as well. Please don't say lightly that these are just religious concepts and not practical. These are laws governing human conduct, which apply as rigidly as the law of gravity. When we disregard these laws in any walk of life, chaos results. Through obedience to these laws this frightened, war-weary world . . . could enter into a period of peace and richness of life beyond our fondest dreams."

The first of her "Peace Pilgrim's Petitions" is a plea "To the President of the U.S. and National Leaders" for "the establishment of a Peace Dept., with a Secretary of Peace who accepts these principles—all conflict situations at home or abroad to be referred to this Peace Dept." The second, for "World Disarmament and Reconstruction," appeals "To the UN and World Leaders":

". . . We plead with you to free us from the crushing burden of armaments—to free us from hatred and fear: so that we may feed our hungry ones, mend our broken cities, and experience a richness of life which can come only in a world that is unarmed and fed."

FRIENDLY PEOPLE: I asked whether, walking through Texas, Oklahoma and other Southern states, she talked with any Negroes.

"The Negro people I met took it for granted that I wouldn't discriminate. When they read 'Peace Pilgrim' on my tunic they seemed to trust me. They didn't hesitate to stop and talk with me. I spoke in a number of Negro churches. The ministers read my message to the congregations and handed out my petitions."

A Negro woman in Dallas had her to dinner; a Negro minister's family put her up for the night. These friendly acts led local Negro papers to interview her. Weary and thirsty from heat and dust, she passed by public fountains marked WHITE—COLORED, and drank and washed at filling-station restrooms which flaunted no jimcrow signs.

"LIVE BY PRINCIPLES": Peace Pilgrim said she was sponsored by no organization or person: "I don't belong to any organization, but"—laughing—"I've been investigated by the FBI." My next question was imperative: "Hundreds must have been inspired by what you were doing—but, after all, how many individuals can be expected to emulate you?" She was very serious:

"I am not trying to get anybody else to do as I am doing. I would like only to inspire people to live according to the principles I have enunciated and by which I live. We need not tear down that which is evil; we need only bring good influences to bear upon it. Then not only will the evil fade away, but the evil-doer will be transformed."

I asked her to sum up her reasons for renouncing what even she had called the good things of life.

"I wish, first, to live below federal tax levels, because 9/10 of every federal-tax dollar goes for war and war purposes; and, secondly, I would not wish to have more than I need while so many throughout the world still have less than they need. So I carry only the clothes on my back, my peace petitions, and a few copies of my message. These are my only possessions. Unnecessary possessions are unnecessary burdens. And this is true not only for one who walks but for every one."

AN AWAKENING: Did she think of peace as merely absence of hostilities? She said it was much more: "the absence of the causes of war." Then how would she go about removing the causes?

"The most effective work can be done just after hostilities end. Whether or not a peaceful situation is finally established depends on the work we do right now and in the immediate future. The vast majority of those I talked with have learned that war is not the way to peace; that security does not lie in stockpiles of bombs. There is still much lethargy—but I feel a great awakening taking place among the people, especially in the letters which say, in effect: Since talking with you I've decided I should be doing something for peace."

•

Canard Enchaîne, Paris

FISH INSTEAD OF FIGHT

"A 50-50 basis"

What Eisenhower is telling Russia's Communist leaders is this: Watch your step. America today has the capability of destroying your country. . . . We're ready to try to get along, but it has to be on a 50-50 basis. There's a mailed fist in the velvet glove that Ike held out.
—U. S. News, Dec. 18.

The thinking behind Dulles' peace offensive brings his operating philosophy into sharp focus. He thinks the odds are a thousand to one against settlement of any major cold war conflicts any time soon. His reason is simple: a negotiated settlement means two-way concessions. The concessions the U.S. would demand from the Kremlin would be substantial. The concessions Dulles would be willing to make would be trivial. . . .
Business Week, Oct. 24.

Bring articles like this into the homes of more people who need facts with which to work for peace and a better America. GET ONE NEW GUARDIAN READER THIS WEEK.

'State of Nation' forced to move

ONE WEEK before the scheduled opening of its revue "State of the Nation" at the Armenian Center in Los Angeles, the Field Theater received a letter returning its deposit on the auditorium with a notice cancelling its reservation for 14 shows on five weekends beginning Jan. 8. The revue is being sponsored by the GUARDIAN and the So. Calif. Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions.

The sponsors, who have spent months in preparation for the sparkling show, immediately booked the Danish Auditorium (1359 W. 24th, E. of Vermont) for the first 10 performances, and at the same time sought an injunction against the Armenian Center and filed suit for damages.

ALL-OUT EFFORT: The dates for the shows at the Danish Auditorium are Jan. 8, 9, 10; Jan. 15, 16, 17; Jan. 22 & 24; Jan. 29, 30. Place of the last four performances will be announced later. Tiba Willner, the GUARDIAN's So. Calif. representative, has urged all GUARDIAN readers in the Los Angeles area to double their efforts to sell tickets and jam the auditorium each performance as the most dramatic form of protest against this new kind of censorship. The Armenian Center action indicated strong pressure from groups which seek to stifle the voice of opposition. "State of the Nation" is a satirical revue which mocks the political idiocies of our day.

As the GUARDIAN went to press, the first performance was scheduled to go on as planned—at the Danish Auditorium—Jan. 8.

(See ad, p. 7, for details)

"THE ODER-NEISSE LINE IS THE LINE BETWEEN WAR AND PEACE"

What a delegation of leading French MP's saw in Poland

ON the eve of the four-power Berlin conference on Germany, concern was growing in Europe about one major threat to world peace: the increasing talk in the U. S. and W. Germany about "reopening" the question of the Oder-Neisse territories which Poland took over from Germany in 1945. Light on the realities behind the "frontier revision" talk was shed by the reports of a delegation of French MP's, representing all parties except Communists and Progressives, which visited Poland last month. The MP's were invited to Poland following a request to Warsaw by one of them, Gaullist MP Lebon, for up-to-date information on the ceded territories. Lebon said on his return (**Le Monde**, 12/15):

> "I have come back with the absolute conviction that the search for formulas of European defense and relaxation of tension is pure and simple nonsense . . . if it is not preceded by solemn recognition of the untouchability of the Oder-Neisse line in the east—the veritable line of demarcation between peace and war, and this in conformity with promises, some implicit, some absolutely formal, made to Poland."

CESSION WAS "DEFINITIVE": In his report published in **L'Observateur** (12/17) Andre Denis, leading member of Foreign Minister Bidault's party the MRP, conceded that the Yalta agreement did not exactly specify what territories Germany should cede to Poland, but added:

> "The agreement at Potsdam, however, was more formal, and Mr. Churchill in a speech in Commons was even more so. Above all, the Allies authorized the total transfer of populations [from and into the Oder-Neisse territories] to proceed—which showed that they considered the cession as quite definitive. For practical purposes there are now no more Germans in the territories. It was no doubt appalling for the hundreds of thousands of [German] families, but less tragic than the fate of the Poles under German occupation. Apart from the historical reasons for the return of these territories, one may consider it as reparation for the immense damages suffered by Poland.
>
> ". . . It is thanks to these territories that Poland has acquired economic equilibrium—by acquisition of a mining and essential industry region—and geographical equilibrium by broad access to the Baltic. We heard it said constantly and everywhere, in accents of the most passionate sincerity: 'There would no more be any Poland if these territories were taken back from us, and we would fight to the last man to prevent them being taken.' I believe furthermore that this is one of the only points on which numerous Polish emigres agree with the present regime. . . . One cannot doubt that retransference of the territories would be impossible without war; the question that poses itself, then, is this: Is a German-Polish war—and hence, a world war—preferable to the status quo?"

POLAND'S NEW BOUNDARIES
Shaded areas: Former German territories, East of Oder-Neisse frontier, ceded to Poland in 1945. The map of present-day Poland resembles closely the Poland of the 10th century.

THE POLISH MIRACLE: "Independent peasant" (right-wing conservative) MP G. Loustaunau-Lacau described the "incredible savagery" with which the Germans leveled Poland's communities and industries and massacred 6,000,000 of its people between 1939 and 1945, and continued:

> "In the course of its tragic history the Polish nation had already given proofs of its exceptional vitality. But those who today cross its territories from east to west, from north to south, as we have just done, have to report that a miracle has been produced—a miracle of love for the destroyed fatherland, a miracle of faith and enthusiasm, which expresses itself in a veritable resurrection.
>
> "It was the cathedrals and churches that were rebuilt first, as if the builders had wanted to bring down a heavenly benediction upon the still smoking ruins. . . . Around these churches, always filled with the faithful, historic sections of towns have been rebuilt in the purity of their old lines and primitive colors. . . . The workers have accomplished prodigies of achievement. All this has not been done without privations in other areas. A people staging such a rebirth, in an incomparable kind of effort in which the future reflects itself in the past, deserves the respect of every nation.
>
> ". . . Polish industry was destroyed to its foundations . . . [and] all materials of the slightest value had disappeared at the time of liberation. Reconstruction of coal mines, shipyards and factories could however be undertaken thanks to materials delivered on credit by the Soviet Union. Poland is already exporting coal . . . the new steel mills at Nova Huta, which we visited, will when finished be one of the world's greatest plants in that field. . . . Poland's industrial potential will surpass Italy's and approach France's.
>
> "All this is the strict truth, confirmed on the spot. . . . This is a people that has suffered too much to dream of anything else but peaceful completion of the wonderful work of reconstruction it has undertaken, and then to look forward to a little of the happiness of normal life. But one thing is a certainty, as anyone coming here may prove for himself: the Polish people will never consent to the rearming, at their very door, of those who crucified them to satisfy their selfish lust for power. Nor will they agree to any further discussion of the rights they hold from their history, and which they confirmed by their unprecedented sacrifices of blood and suffering. We Frenchmen, linked with the Polish people by an ancient friendship which has never been denied, must consider the magnificent example given by an entire people devoted to the rebuilding of their country."

"A GREAT NATION": Edouard Daladier, Radical Socialist, former Premier (at the time of Munich), spoke of the Polish people's privations and patriotic exertions in rebuilding their land, of the recent re-emergence of a variety of consumer goods in the stores—then noted the

> ". . . moving manifestations of warm friendship for France. If war does not come during that time, Poland will certainly be a great nation within ten years. . . . She possesses the natural frontier of the Oder-Neisse. Her industrial production is growing with extraordinary speed. She profoundly wants peace. But there is no doubt that if the Germans cross the Oder it will be war."

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"The Wide Screen Hoax" is exposed in the January **FILM SENSE,** America's leading progressive film journal. Also: "Changing Fashions in Film Violence," "Hollywood's Ubiquitous Heels" and "Ray Bradbury's Insight." Subs: $1 for 7 issues. Film Sense, Dept. 8-G, 35 W. 64th St., New York 23.

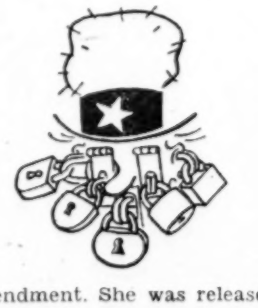
THE OLD MAN OF THE MOUNTAINS IS RED IN THE FACE

New Hampshire witch-hunt turns on Progressives

IN 1951 New Hampshire enacted a Subversive Activities Act; the law lay dormant until the spring of 1953 when the legislature adopted a resolution ordering State Atty. Gen. Louis G. Wyman to conduct a probe of violations of it. Currently an undetermined number of persons are under subpena to appear for questioning in closed sessions. For those who refuse to co-operate, there will be public hearings later.

To date the Atty. Gen. has scored two casualties: a woman past 60 has spent a night in jail, and a woman past 50 has lost her winter-time job as cook at a state school at Laconia.

DANGEROUS CHARACTERS: Jailed was Mrs. Elba Chase Nelson who ran for governor of the state in 1938—15 years ago—on the Communist Party ticket. When she refused to answer questions on the ground that both the law and the resolution ordering the probe are unconstitutional, she was marched across the street to confront a judge who directed her to answer or be imprisoned "without bail until purged of contempt." Next day Mrs. Nelson, who is defended by John R. McLane, head of one of the state's biggest law firms and president of the State Bar Assn., answered a few questions, refused most others under a state constitutional article corresponding to the Fifth



Amendment. She was released.

The job-loser was Mrs. Josephine Winifred Timms, 51, who runs a summer lodge in the town of Wentworth. She denied membership in the Communist Party but admitted she had belonged to the American Communications Assn. in the early 'thirties. The ACA was one of the progressive unions expelled from the CIO in 1950.

PROGRESSIVES NEXT: For lack of suspected Communists in the state, the Atty. Gen. is now concentrating on members and leaders of the Progressive Party, which was ruled off the ballot on a technicality in 1952. Under subpena are Irma C. Otto, State Chairman of the PP and its candidate for governor in 1948, and the four persons who would have served as the party's Presidential electors in 1952 had it remained on the ballot.

Stirring up excitement in the probe is the Manchester **Union Leader**, published and edited by William Loeb, a leading figure in the China Lobby and a strong supporter of Sen. Joe McCarthy. A recent editorial, criticizing Air Force Secy. Talbott for ruling in favor of an officer who was pilloried for his father's reading habits, commented: "It is better to hurt an individual than to endanger the nation."

NEIGHBORS ARE LAUGHING: The **Union Leader** last week gave prominent front page notice to a visiting speaker who said: "To exercise the privilege of the Fifth Amendment is to acknowledge that you are not much of an American."

But in neighboring Maine the Lewiston **Daily Sun**, noting New Hampshire's "imminent danger of being overthrown by the Reds now thronging that State," had this advice: "The whole performance is so ridiculous that the decent, tolerant people in the Granite State should rise up in protest."

★

Eloquent Fred Wright

NEW YORK, N. Y.

In spite of the fact that in every one of his likenesses of McCarthy, he does flatter the Senator (cf. the not-inhuman face in the cartoon page 2 of the Dec. 21 GUARDIAN with facsimile of the McCarthy visage on page 4), I think Fred Wright is the most eloquent cartoonist alive. **M. M. Bostick**

Very good taste

ITHACA, N. Y.

Friends who saw our Guardian Buying Service Bootonware dinner set immediately wanted to order a set for themselves. **Donald Willmott**

War & Peace

(Continued from Page 3)

the Reciprocal Trade Act expire in June rather than risk a fight in Congress, and that there will be no tariff cuts this year.

"FRESH LOOK" AT E.-W. TRADE: Another British answer to the threat of a U.S. recession was suggested by the Fedn. of British Industries in a special report last month urging members to pursue trade with socialist countries "vigorously" and scouting any notion this was unpatriotic. Moscow's interest in buying W. European consumer goods and equipment for light industry has already reached a point "where Washington is taking a fresh look at the whole question of East-West trade" (**BW**, 12/26). Soviet shipment of some $200 million worth of gold and other precious metals to Britain and W. Europe suggests that the U.S.S.R. is buying sterling (of which it may be short owing to greatly reduced British purchases of Soviet grain in 1953) to pay for sterling-area shipment of consumer goods and equipment. Three separate groups of British businessmen are to visit Moscow soon to get $196 million worth of orders for textile machinery, ships, electrical equipment.

In the U.S. a somewhat similar view was voiced by W. L. Pierson, chairman of the Intl. Chamber of Commerce's U.S. Council, who said (12/30) that the Administration would have to reexamine the whole question of non-strategic trade with the socialist world and that McCarthy represents a view "pretty much confined to himself." Two Democratic Senators told **UP** (1/2) that the "free world" may head into "a crippling economic breakdown" unless it allows more East-West trade.

Drawing by Jean Effel, Paris
"There seems to be a scarcity of abundance . . ."

DOORS & DELUSIONS: Is the U.S. trade embargo beginning to give before economic reality? There were Washington reports that a group of Eisenhower appointees in the State Dept. believe the door should be held open for eventual recognition of China and its admission to UN (Roscoe Drummond, N.Y. **Herald Tribune,** 1/4). But Vice Pres. Nixon's and the military chiefs' determined opposition to recognition of China, and their enthusiasm for extending the rim-strategy to Asia by building air-atomic bases in Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Indo-China, Formosa and Japan (**Newsweek,** 1/4), showed Washington still suffering delusions of omnipotence.

As Walter Millis pointed out (**NYHT,** 1/3), the military "new" air-atomic look ignores the fact that President Truman, too, expected to rely on air and naval power in the Korean War but had to order in the infantry in the first week. The "new" military strategy is actually that advanced by Herbert Hoover and the late Sen. Taft during the days of the worst U.S. defeats in Korea. That it is now being openly embraced not only for Asia but also for Europe is a measure of Washington's deepening bankruptcy of policy.

Church moves to unfrock Claude Williams

A NEW phase in the political witch-hunt in the churches opened Jan. 4 in Detroit, when a judicial commission of the Detroit Presbytery started proceedings to "unfrock" Rev. Claude Williams on charges of communism and doctrinal heresy.

The move against Williams by officials of his own church was launched last year, when he was named by Rep. Velde of the House Un-American Activities Committee among ministers who "should be investigated." Williams has not been subpenaed by the committee. For some years he has conducted his own program in Helena, Ala., but he remains technically under the jurisdiction (although unpaid) of the Detroit Presbytery, whose industrial chaplain he was during the war.

"SMITH, DILLING, VELDE . . .": Press and public were excluded from what was described as an "executive session" held in Fort St. Presbyterian Church; but Henry G. Hoch, church editor of the Detroit **News,** broke the story on page 1 next day. Hoch described Williams as "a nationally known 'Deep South' preacher of the social gospel" who had been "accused of being a Communist by Gerald L. K. Smith, Elizabeth Dilling and Rep. Velde." In fact Williams is possibly the most widely known of all U.S. Presbyterians, through Cedric Belfrage's biography of him **A Faith to Free the People,** which has been published in many countries, most recently in China. The book, excerpts from which were published serially in the GUARDIAN in 1949, tells how the Tennessee-born preacher was fired from churches, beaten and jailed for persistently interpreting his religion as a charge to side with the poor.

Hoch reported that the Presbytery's judicial commission trying Williams is headed by Rev. Henry J. Walch of the First Presbyterian Church, Plymouth, Mich. The charges were presented by a "special prosecutor's committee" of two ministers and an attorney.

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FRI., JAN. 22 / No. perf. Jan. 23 / SUN., JAN. 24
FRI., JAN. 29 / SAT., JAN. 30
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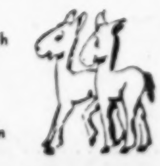

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60x83	$12.75	$9.50

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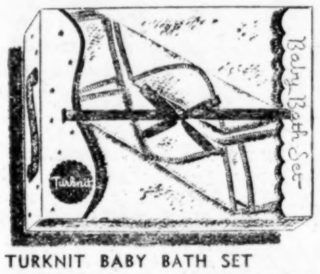

TURKNIT BABY BATH SET

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36"x36". Generous sized hood made into one corner to fit all sizes of babies' heads. Shipping wgt. 2 lbs.
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2 ft. x 5 ft. size — List Price **$21.95** — Guard. Price **$16.45**

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Defrosts your refrigerator automatically. Shipping wgt. 2 lbs.
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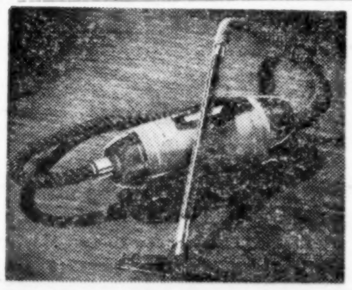

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Complete with attachments. Top rated by an independent consumer research org. Shipped express.
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16 pc. set. Makes cookies, eclairs, cream puffs, meringue shells and lady fingers. Includes: press, 12 cookie plates, 3 pastry tips and recipe and instruction book. Shipping wgt. 3 lbs.
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PARCEL POST RATES

Please determine postage from chart below and add to item cost. Shipping weights are noted with each item. Distances in chart are from New York City. "Local" refers to Manh. & Bronx only. Other boros Zone 1 & 2.

WEIGHT IN LBS. OVER 8 OZ. TO	Local	1 & 2 Up to 150 Miles	3 150 to 300 Miles	4 300 to 600 Miles	5 600 to 1,000 Miles	6 1,000 to 1,400 Miles	7 1,400 to 1,800 Miles	8 Over 1,800 Miles
1	$0.18	$0.23	$0.23	$0.24	$0.26	$0.28	$0.30	$0.32
2	.20	.27	.29	.31	.36	.40	.46	.51
3	.21	.31	.34	.38	.45	.52	.61	.69
4	.23	.35	.39	.45	.54	.64	.76	.87
5	.24	.39	.44	.52	.63	.76	.91	1.05
6	.26	.43	.49	.59	.73	.88	1.06	1.23
7	.27	.47	.54	.66	.82	1.00	1.22	1.41
8	.29	.51	.60	.73	.91	1.12	1.37	1.59
9	.30	.55	.65	.80	1.00	1.24	1.52	1.77
10	.32	.59	.70	.87	1.10	1.36	1.67	1.95
11	.33	.63	.75	.93	1.19	1.48	1.82	2.13
12	.34	.67	.80	1.00	1.28	1.60	1.98	2.31
13	.36	.71	.85	1.07	1.37	1.72	2.13	2.49
14	.37	.75	.90	1.14	1.47	1.84	2.28	2.67
15	.39	.79	.96	1.21	1.56	1.96	2.43	2.85
16	.40	.83	1.01	1.28	1.65	2.08	2.58	3.03
17	.42	.87	1.06	1.35	1.74	2.20	2.74	3.21
18	.43	.91	1.11	1.42	1.84	2.32	2.89	3.39
19	.45	.95	1.16	1.49	1.93	2.44	3.04	3.57
20	.46	.99	1.21	1.56	2.02	2.56	3.19	3.75